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WHOLE NO. 233.

LETTER.

Addressed by WM. H. HARRISON, to
SIMON BOLIVAR, President and
Liberator of Colombia, when he was about
to assume despotic power.

BOGOTA, 27th Sept., 1829.

Sir,—If there is any thing in the style, the matter, or the object of this letter, which is calculated to give offence to your Excellency, I am persuaded you will readily forgive it, when you reflect on the motives which induced me to write it. An old soldier could possess no feelings but those of the kindest character towards one who has shed so much lustre on the profession of arms; nor can a citizen of the country of Washington cease to wish that, in Bolivar, the world might behold another instance of the highest military attainments, united with the purest patriotism, and the greatest capacity for civil government.

Such, sir, have been the fond hopes, not only of the people of the U. States, but of the friends of liberty throughout the world. I will not say that your Excellency has formed projects to defeat these hopes. But, there is no doubt, that they have not only been formed, but are, at this moment, in progress to maturity, and openly avowed by those who possess your entire confidence. I will not attribute to these men impure motives; but can they be disinterested advisers? Are they not the very persons who will gain most by the proposed change? who will indeed gain all that is to be gained, without furnishing any part of the equivalent? That that, the price of their future wealth & honors, is to be furnished exclusively by yourself? And of what does it consist? Your great character. Such a one, that, if a man were wise, and possessed of the empire of the Caesars, in his best days, he would give all to obtain. Are you prepared to make this sacrifice, for such an object?

I am persuaded that those who advocate these measures, have never dared to induce you to adopt them, by any argument founded on your personal interests; and that, to succeed, it would be necessary to convince you that no other course remained, to save the country from the evils of anarchy. This is the question, then, to be examined.

Does the history of this country, since the adoption of the Constitution, really exhibit unequivocal evidence that the people are unfit to be free? Is the exploded opinion of a European philosopher of the last age, that "in the new hemisphere, man is a degraded being," to be renewed, supported by the example of Colombia? The proofs should indeed be strong, to induce an American to adopt an opinion so humiliating.

Feeling that a deep interest in the success of the revolution in the late Spanish America, I have never been an inactive observer of events, depending and posterior to the achievement of the independence. In these events I search in vain for a single fact to show that, in Colombia, at least, the state of society is unsuited to the adoption of a free government. Will the adoption of a free government do exist, if it be said that a free government is inadequate to the objects for which it had been instituted, it had been substituted by one of a different character, which preceded by one of the majority of the people?

It is the most difficult of people for me to believe that a people in the possession of their rights, as freemen, would ever be willing to surrender them, and submit themselves to the will of a master. If any such instances are on record, the power thus transferred has been in a moment of extreme public danger, and then limited to a very short period. I do not think that it is by any means certain, that the majority of the French people, who favored the elevation of Napoleon to the throne of France. But it is not so, but different were the circumstances of that country, from those of Colombia, where the Constitution of Cuenca was overthrown. At the period of the elevation of Napoleon to the First Consulate, all the powers of Europe were the open or secret enemies of France—civil war raged within her borders—the hereditary king possessed many partisans in every province—the people, continually betrayed by the factions which murdered and succeeded each other, had imbibed a portion of their ferocity, and every town and village witnessed the indiscriminate slaughter of both men and women, of all parties and principles.—Does the history of Colombia, since the expulsion of the Spaniards, present any parallel to these scenes? Her frontiers have been never seriously menaced—no civil war has raged—not a portion of the former government was to be found in the whole extent of her territory—no factions contended with each other for the possession of power; the executive government remained in the hands of those to whom it had been committed by the People, in a fair election. In fact, no people ever passed from under the yoke of a despotic government, to the enjoyment of entire freedom, with less disposition to abuse their newly acquired power than those of Colombia. They submitted indeed to a continuance of some of the most arbitrary and unjust features which distinguished the former government. If there was any disposition on the part of the great mass of the people, to effect any change in the existing order of things; if the Colombians act from the same motives and upon the same principles which govern mankind elsewhere, and in all ages, they would have desired to take from the government a part of the power, which, in their inexperience, they had conferred to it. The monopoly of certain articles of agricultural produce, and the oppressive duty of the Alcabala, might have been tolerated, until the last of their tyrants were driven from the country. But when peace was restored, when not one enemy remained within its borders, it might reasonably have been supposed that the people would have desired to abolish these re-

straints of arbitrary government, and substitute for them some tax more equal and according with republican principles.

On the contrary, it is pretended, that they had become enamored with these despotic measures, and so disgusted with the freedom they did enjoy, that they were more than willing to commit their destinies to the uncontrolled will of your Excellency. Let me assure you, sir, that these assertions will gain no credit with the present generation, or with posterity. They will demand the facts, which had induced a people, by no means deficient in intelligence, so soon to abandon the principles for which they had so gallantly fought, and tamely surrender that liberty, which had been obtained at the expense of so much blood. And what facts can be produced? It can not be said that life and property were not as well protected under the republican government, as they ever have been; nor that there existed any opposition to the Constitution and laws, too strong for the ordinary powers of the government to put down.

If the insurrection of Gen. Paez, in Venezuela, is adduced, I would ask, by what means was he reduced to obedience? Your Excellency, the legitimate head of the republic, appeared, and, in a moment, all opposition ceased, and Venezuela was restored to the republic. But, it is said, that this was effected by your personal influence, or the dread of your military talent, and that, to keep Gen. Paez & other ambitious chiefs from dismembering the republic, it was necessary to invest your Excellency with the extraordinary powers you possess. There would be some reason in this, if you had refused to act without these powers; or having acted, as you did, you had been unable to accomplish any thing without them. But you succeeded, completely, and there can be no possible reason assigned, why you would not have succeeded, with the same means, against any future attempt of Gen. Paez, or any other General.

There appears, however, to be one sentiment, in which all parties unite; that is, that, as matters now stand, you alone can save the country from ruin, at least, from much calamity. They differ, however, very widely, as to the measures to be taken to put your excellency in the way to render this important service. The lesser & more interested party, is for placing the Government in your hands for life; either with your present title, or with one which, it must be confessed, better accords with the nature of the powers to be exercised. If they adopt the less offensive title, and if they weave into their system some apparent cloak to your will, it is only for the purpose of masking, in some degree, their real object; which is nothing short of the establishment of a despotism. The plea of necessity, that eternal argument of all conspirators, ancient or modern, against the rights of mankind, will be resorted to, to induce you to accede to their measures; and the unsettled state of the country, which has been designedly produced by them, will be adduced as evidence of that necessity.

There is but one way for your Excellency to escape from the snares which have been so artfully laid to entrap you, and that is, to stop short in the course which, unfortunately, has been already commenced. Every step you advance, under the influence of such councils, will make retreat more difficult, until it will become impracticable. You will be told that the intention is only to vest you with authority to correct what is wrong in the Administration, and to put down the factions; & that, when the country once enjoys tranquility, the government will be restored to the people. Delusive will be the hopes of those who rely upon this declaration. The promised hour of tranquility will never arrive. If events tended to produce it, they would be counteracted by the Government itself. It was a strong remark of a former President of the U. States, that, "sooner will the lover be contented with the first smiles of his mistress, than a government cease to endeavor to preserve and extend its powers." With whatever reluctance your Excellency may commence the career—with whatever disposition to abandon it, when the objects for which it was commenced have been obtained—when once fairly entered, you will be borne along by the irresistible force of pride, habit of command, and need, for self-preservation—and it will be impossible to recede.

But, it is said, that it is for the benefit of the people that the proposed change is to be made; and that by your talents and influence, alone, unaided, by unlimited power, the ambitious chiefs in the different departments are to be restrained, and the integrity of the republic preserved. I have said, and I most sincerely believe, that, from the state into which the country has been brought, that you alone can preserve it from the horrors of anarchy. But I cannot conceive that any extraordinary powers are necessary. The authority to see that the laws are executed—to call out the strength of the country to enforce their execution, is all that is required, and is what is possessed by the Chief Magistrate of the United States, and of every other Republic; and is what was confided to the Executive, by the Constitution of Cuenca. Would your talents or your energies be impaired in the council, or the field, or your influence lessened, when acting as head of a Republic?

I propose to examine, very briefly, the results which are likely to flow from the proposed change of government: 1st, in relation to the country; and, 2d, to yourself, personally. Is the tranquility of the country to be secured by it? Is it possible for your Excellency to believe, that when the mask has been thrown off, and the people discover that a despotic government has been fixed upon them, that they will quiet-

ly submit to it? Will they forget the past word which, like the cross of fire, was the signal for rallying to oppose their former tyrants? Will the virgins, at your bidding, cease to chaunt the songs of Liberty, which so lately animated the youth to victory?—Was the patriotic blood of Colombia all expended in the fields of Nargas, Bayacan, and Carebobo? The schools may cease to enforce upon their pupils the love of country, drawn from the examples of Cato and the Brutii, Harmodius and Aristogiton, but the glorious example of patriotic devotion, exhibited in your own Hacienda, will supply their place. Depend on it, sir, that the moment which shall announce the continuance of arbitrary power in your hands will be the commencement of commotions which will require all your talents and energies to suppress. You may succeed. The disciplined army, at your disposal may be too powerful for an unarmed, undisciplined, and scattered population; but one unsuccessful effort will not content them, and your feelings will be eternally racked by being obliged to make war upon those who have been accustomed to call you their father, and to invoke blessings on your head, and for no cause but their adherence to principles which you yourself had taught them to regard more than their lives.

If by the strong government which the advocates for the proposed change so strenuously recommend, one without responsibility is intended, which may put men to death, and immerse them in dungeons, without trial, and one where the army is every thing, and the people nothing, I must say, that, if the tranquility of Colombia is to be preserved in this way, the wildest anarchy would be preferable. Out of that anarchy a better government might arise; but the chains of military despotism once fastened upon a nation, ages might pass away before they could be shaken off.

But I contend that the strongest of governments is that which is most free. We consider that of the United States is the most free, precisely, because it is the most free. It possesses the faculties, equally to protect itself from foreign force or internal convulsion. In both, it has been sufficiently tried. In no country upon earth, would an armed opposition to the laws be sooner or more effectually put down. Not so much by the terrors of the guillotine or the gibbet, as from the aroused determination of the nation, exhibiting their strength, and convincing the factions that their cause was hopeless. No, sir, depend upon it, that the possession of arbitrary power, by the government of Colombia, will not be the means of securing tranquility; nor will the danger of disturbances solely arise from the opposition of the People. The power, and the military force which it will be necessary to put into the hands of the Governors of the distant provinces, added to the nature of the country, will continually present to those officers the temptation, and the means of revolt.

Will the proposed change restore prosperity to the country? With the best intentions to do so, will you be able to recall commerce to its shores and give new life to the drooping state of agriculture? The cause of the constant decline, in these great interests, cannot be mistaken. It arises from the fewness of those who labor, and the number of those who are to be supported by that labor. To support a swarm of luxurious & idle monks, & an army greatly disproportioned to the resources of the country, with a body of officers, in a ten fold degree disproportioned to the army, every branch of industry is oppressed with burdens which deprive the ingenious man of the profits of his ingenuity, and the laborer of his reward. To satisfy the constant and pressing demands, which are made upon it, the Treasury seizes upon every thing within its grasp—destroying the very germ of future prosperity. Is there any prospect that these evils will cease with the proposed change? Can the army be dispensed with?—Will the influence of the monks be no longer necessary? Believe me, sir, that the support which the government derives from both these sources, will be more than ever requisite.

But the most important inquiry is, the effect which this strong government is to have upon the people themselves. Will it tend to improve and elevate their character, and fit them for the freedom which it is pretended is ultimately to be bestowed upon them? The question has been answered from the age of Homer. Man does not learn under oppression those noble qualities and feelings which fit him for the enjoyment of liberty. Nor is despotism the proper school in which to acquire the knowledge of the principles of Republican government. A government whose revenues are derived from diverting the very sources of wealth from its subjects, will not find the means of improving the morals and enlightening the minds of the youth, by supporting systems of liberal education; and if it could, it would not.

In relation to the effect which this investment of power is to have upon your happiness and your fame, will the pomp and glitter of a court, and the flattery of vernal courtiers, reward you for the troubles and anxieties attendant upon the exercise of sovereignty, every where, and those which flow from your peculiar situation? Or, will the willing homage which you were wont to receive from your fellow-citizens? The groans of dissatisfied and oppressed people will penetrate the inmost recesses of your palace, and you will be tormented by the reflection, that you no longer possess that place in their affection which was once your pride and boast, and which would have been your solace under every reverse of fortune. Unsupported by the people, you,

authority can be maintained, only by the terrors of the sword and the scaffold. And have these ever been successful under similar circumstances? Blood may smother, for a period, but can never extinguish the fire of liberty, which you have contributed so much to kindle in the bosom of every Colombian.

I will not urge as an argument, the personal dangers to which you will be exposed. But I will ask if you could enjoy life, which would be preserved by the constant execution of so many human beings—your countrymen—your former friends and almost your worshippers. The pangs of such a situation will be made more acute, by reflecting on the hallowed motive of many of those who would aim their daggers at your bosom. That like the last of the Romans, they would strike, not from hatred to the man, but love to the country.

From a knowledge of your own disposition, and present feelings, your Excellency will not be willing to believe, that you could ever be brought to commit an act of tyranny, or even to execute justice with unnecessary vigor. But trust me, sir, that there is nothing more corrupting, nothing more destructive of the noblest and finest feelings of our nature, than the exercise of unlimited power. The man who, in the beginning of such a career, might shudder at the idea of taking away the life of a fellow being, might soon have his conscience so seared by the repetition of crime, that the agonies of his murdered victims might become music to his soul, and the drippings of the scaffold afford "blood enough to swim in." History is full of such examples.

From this disgusting picture, permit me to call the attention of your Excellency to one of a different character. It exhibits you as the constitutional Chief Magistrate of a free people. Giving to their representatives the influence of your great name and talents, to reform the abuses which in a long reign of tyranny and misrule, have fastened upon every branch of the administration. The army and its swarm of officers, reduced within the limits of real usefulness, placed on the frontier, would be no longer permitted to control public opinion, & be the terror of the peaceful citizen. By the removal of this incubus from the treasury, and the establishment of order, responsibility and economy, in the expenditures of the Government, it would soon be enabled to dispense with the odious monopolies, and the duty of the Alcabala, which have operated with so much malign effect upon commerce and agriculture, and indeed, upon the revenues which they were intended to augment. No longer oppressed by these shackles, industry would every where revive; the farmer and the artisan, cheered by the prospect of ample reward for their labor, would redouble their exertions; foreigners, with their capital and their skill in the arts would crowd hither, to enjoy the advantage which could scarcely, elsewhere, be found; and Colombia would soon exhibit the reality of the beautiful fiction of Fenelon—Solentum rising from misery and oppression, to prosperity and happiness, under the councils and directions of the concealed goddes.

What objection can be urged against this course? Can any one acquainted with the circumstances of the country, doubt its success, in restoring & maintaining tranquility? The people would certainly not revolt against themselves; and none of the Chiefs who are supposed to be factiously inclined, would think of opposing the strength of the nation, when directed by your talents and authority. But it is said, that the want of intelligence amongst the people unfits them for their own Government. Is it not right, however, that the experiment should be fairly tried? I have already said, that this has not been done. For myself, I do not hesitate to declare my firm belief, that it will succeed. The people of Colombia possess many traits of character, suitable for a republican government. A more orderly, forbearing and well disposed people are no where to be met with. Indeed, it may safely be asserted, that their faults and vices are attributable to the cursed Government to which they have been so long subjected, and to the intolerant character of the religion, whilst their virtues are all their own. But admitting their present want of intelligence, no one has ever doubted their capacity to acquire knowledge, and under the strong motives which exist, to obtain it, supported by the influence of your Excellency, it would soon be obtained.

To yourself the advantage would be as great as to the country; like acts of mercy, the blessings would be reciprocal; your personal happiness secured, and your fame elevated to a height which would leave but a single competitor in the estimation of posterity.

If the fame of our Washington depended upon his military achievements, would the common consent of the world allow him the pre-eminence he possesses? The victories at Trenton, Monmouth, and York, brilliant as they were, exhibiting as they certainly did, the highest grade of military talents, are scarcely thought of. The source of his veneration and esteem which is entertained for his character, by every description of politicians—the monarchist and aristocrat, as well as the republican, is to be found in his unobtrusive and exclusive devotedness to the interest of his country. No selfish consideration was ever suffered to intrude itself into his mind. For his country he conquered; and the unvaried and increasing prosperity of that country is constantly adding fresh glory to his name. General, the course which he pursued is open to you, and it depends upon yourself to attain the eminence which he has reached before you.

To the eyes of military men, the laurels

you won on the fields of Vargas, Bayacan, and Carebobo, will be forever green; but will that content you? Are you willing that your name should descend to posterity, amongst the mass of those whose fame has been derived from shedding human blood, without a single advantage to the human race? Or, shall it be united to that of Washington, as the founder and the father of a great and happy people? The choice is before you. The friends of liberty throughout the world, and the people of the United States in particular, are waiting your decision with intense anxiety. Alexander toiled and conquered to attain the applause of the Athenians; will you regard as nothing the opinions of a nation which has evinced its superiority over that celebrated people, in the science most useful to man, by having carried into actual practice a system of government, of which the wisest Athenians had but a glimpse in theory, and considered as a blessing never to be realised, however ardently to be desired?—The place which you are to occupy in their esteem depends upon yourself.

Farewell.

W. H. HARRISON.

From the Mountain Democrat.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.

Pursuant to notice, the citizens of Windham county to the number of 70 or 80, assembled at the Court House, Newfane, on the 24th instant for the purpose of forming an Anti-Slavery Society. After a few brief statements of the object of the meeting from T. Goodale, Esq. the Hon. Judge Phelps was appointed chairman and O. L. Shafter, Secretary pro tem.

After prayer by the Rev. Mr. Bruce, the Rev. Mr. Beckley, T. Goodale, and the Rev. Mr. Bruce were appointed as a committee to draft a Constitution. Deac. C. Wheaton, Rev. N. Ames, and P. Allen were appointed committee to nominate officers—Judge Phelps, Rev. N. Ames, and Messrs. Allen, Shafter and Robbins a committee to draft resolutions.

Convention adjourned till two o'clock.

2 o'clock.
The Convention met pursuant to adjournment, at the time and place appointed.—Before proceeding to business the Convention listened to an able and interesting address on the subject of Slavery by the Rev. Guy Beckley. After the address the committee appointed to draft a Constitution, made their Report, and with a single amendment, the articles as reported were adopted by the Convention.

CONSTITUTION.
Art. 1. This Society shall be called the Windham County Anti-Slavery Society, and shall be auxiliary to the Vt. Anti-Slavery Society.

Art. 2. The fundamental principle of this society is, that the holding of human beings as property, is a flagrant sin against God, and the rights of humanity, and ought therefore to be immediately and forever abandoned.

Art. 3. The objects of this Society are to secure the immediate and entire emancipation of the enslaved from the apprehension of Slavery,—of the free blacks from the oppression of public sentiment, and the elevation of both to the enjoyment of equal intellectual, civil and religious rights and privileges. And this Society will endeavor to effect these objects, by the use of such christian means, as are suited to correct prevailing and wicked prejudices, and to change the public sentiment of the nation in regard to the rights of the enslaved—but will never encourage a resort to violence in vindication of those rights.

[The remaining articles relate to the election of officers, &c.]
The committee of nomination reported a list of officers which was accepted, as follows—

Hon. CHARLES PHELPS, President.	
T. GOODALE, Vice Presidents.	
Rev. N. AMES, Do.	
Rev. G. BECKLEY, Do.	
O. L. SHAFTER, Sec. Secretary.	
J. HOLTON, M. D. Cor. Secretary.	
P. ALLEN, Treasurer.	
Rev. E. BRUCE, Executive Committee.	
WM. R. SHAFTER, Esq. Do.	
J. BROWN, Esq. Do.	
W. FROST, Esq. Do.	
N. CHENEY, Esq. Do.	

The committee of resolutions reported the following resolutions—which after some debate, were unanimously adopted by the Convention.

1. Resolved, That no citizen of the United States, can without disregarding the law of God and his own duty, aid or assist in upholding the system of human bondage at present maintained in some of the states of the federal government.

2. Resolved, That the command communicated from heaven more than three thousand years ago by the mouth of the prophet, "and he that stretcheth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand he shall be put to death," is as evasive of guilt and sin now as it was then.

3. Resolved, That should it be conceded that the staple of the cane, cotton, and rice plantations cannot be sustained in their profits without the aid of systematically oppressive slave laws, a regard for national honor and the immutable principles of justice, require that those plantations, and all other employments should be regulated by the rules of right and wrong applied to human conduct; and neither North or South, East or West, can, under the plea of necessity, degrade men into beasts, without prostrating the moral law and government of the Creator of heaven and earth.

4. Resolved, That freedom and bondage under the same government, are incompatible—that the relations of master and slave under the system of American Slavery,

are those which exist only between parties at war.

5. Resolved, That the creation of man in the image of his Maker, and the original grant that he should have dominion over the fish of the sea, the fowls of the air, and the beasts of the field, are living demonstrations that he has no such dominion over his fellow men.

6. Resolved, That the provision in the Constitution which guaranteed to every State in this Union a republican form of government and protection against domestic violence, is violated when new states are admitted with constitutions expressly inhibiting equal rights to those, who, free by the laws of God, are held in slavery by the laws of man.

7. Resolved, That the political creed of Jefferson published in the year 1782, contains doctrines not less republican than the creeds of some statesmen in 1835. The following, as a specimen, is recommended to their particular consideration:—"The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved, when nursed with excommunication who permits one half of the citizens to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part, and the *amor patrie* of the other. For if a slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labor for another; in which he must look up the faculties of his nature, contribute as far as depends on his individual endeavors to the advancement of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition on the endless generations proceeding from him. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God? that they are to be violated but with his wrath?—Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution of the wheels of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attributes which can take sides with us in such a contest."

8. Resolved, That no other state of Heathenism in the known world holds any comparison with that of our slaves; that Hindoo, Hottentot and Burman, have opportunity to leave the realm of oppression, and go where there is liberty,—the region of darkness, and go where there is light. Not so with the slave,—he must stay, and work, and die, and go to the grave as he is.

9. Resolved, That while we entertain sentiments of respect for the officers of our government, we cannot forget that they are the servants, and not the masters of the people; and we are the more mindful of it, as they seem to forget it, by establishing unconstitutional censorship over our privileges as citizens of the United States.

10. Resolved, That with the help of God, we will according to our ability, so present truth, justice and mercy, to the hearts and consciences of slaveholders, that they shall feel it their privilege to undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free.

11. Resolved, That to discuss and decry slavery is our business and our duty, as much as to do it against any other abomination existing in our world—and we cannot sanction it without being partakers in the crime, and sharers in the plagues.

12. Resolved, That the Protestant clergymen of this country, who make scripture arguments in defence of our domestic slavery, are, in so doing, pursuing a course calculated to bring the Bible into disrepute as a rule of faith and practice, by weakening the internal evidences of its truth.

The following resolutions were submitted by Rev. Justin Parsons, a soldier of the revolution, personally acquainted with Gen. Washington:

Whereas, we are informed by Infinite Wisdom, that a soft answer turneth away wrath, but grievous words stir up anger, and that a soft tongue breaketh the bone; therefore,

1. Resolved, That we will in all our intercourse with our brethren, who, in any measure, justify the holding of men as chattels, use that soft tongue which breaketh the bone, and never use those grievous words that stir up anger.

2. Resolved, That we will continue in this cause until every bone of oppression shall be broken, and the oppressed shall be allowed to go out free.

3. Resolved, That the Convention recommend to the several towns in this county to form societies as soon as practicable, auxiliary to the county society.

4. Resolved, That the Board of Managers be directed to use their efforts for the establishment of a depository for anti-slavery publications in some central part of this county.

5. Resolved, That the editors of the Mountain Democrat and Vermont Phoenix, be requested, each, to publish the proceedings of this meeting.

The Convention adjourned sine die.

CHARLES PHELPS, Chair'n.

O. L. SHAFTER, Secretary.

What I like to see.

I like to see men pay their debts on the back of an execution—it saves trouble hereafter.

I like to see men when they make mistakes have them always in their own favor; it shows they wish to take care of one.